

Freedom

E. A. BERGMAN

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

October 20th, 1956

WALTER AT YALTA

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A 'Goodwill' Visit

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Mr. Howard Beale, the Australian Minister of Supply, said that this weapon "will make World War III an almost impossible war", but he did not say for whom it would be impossible.

Working on the justification for the arms race between the big nations—that the more weapons "we" have the less likely the enemy is to launch into a war—he no doubt means that the Soviet Union will be checked in her military ambitions now that Britain is again ahead with modern armaments. But we are never told what is likely to happen when Russia has developed her war potential to the same extent as Britain and the United States (if she has not done so already). Surely the logical conclusion is, that greater and more efficient weapons must then be developed until such a time as the arsenals are packed to overflowing and weapons either must be used in a war or become obsolete. Assuming that there is no war, is it not a lunatic system which gears its economy to the manufacture of weapons on a vast scale which might never be used?

Of course there is always another way of getting rid of weapons, that is to export them to the troubled spots of the world. In FREEDOM, October 6th, an article *Ammunition in Demand*, points to the armaments industry which has been very successful in the export market. The British Productivity Council reports that:

"Ammunition is a dollar-earning export, since most foreign sales have been to N.A.T.O. countries under the United States 'off-shore' procurement programme. It may be said here, in parenthesis, that the success of Gt. Britain in this field is a further indication of the increases in productivity which have been secured."

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TITO ON THE TIGHTROPE

WHEN Khrushchev launched his denunciation of Stalin at the famous 20th Congress of the Russian C.P., one man in Europe heaved a bigger sigh of relief than everybody else's—Marshal Tito, President of Yugoslavia.

Ever since Tito parted company with Stalin in 1948, this erstwhile hero of the workers' struggle was denounced by the faithful party members in every other country in a choice collection of zoological terms, usually of the carrion-eating varieties. The man who had nobly supported the anti fascist struggle in Spain, and organised partisans in his own country to fight the Nazis (after 1941 of course) and led his Communist Party to power in 1945 was suddenly discovered (like so many erstwhile heroes) to have been an agent of disruption and reaction.

Then when it was announced that after all the man doing all the damage was Stalin himself, the comrades' estimate of Tito was admitted to have been all a terrible mistake, and the breach in the Communist world began to heal. All the faithful party comrades in every other country recognised Tito for a good chap after all.

Tito, however, who knows the game from the inside, wants something more than protestations of friendship, and during all the time he has been in the Marxist wilderness he has been doing all right for himself in the capitalist jungle. Spurned by the East, he soon chummed up with the West, and found considerable economic advantages to be gained through friendly co-existence with capitalist America and royalist Britain. Gracefully accepting tea and cakes from the Queen and dollars from Dulles, Tito found that being a renegade from the Iron Curtain had its compensations after all.

But it did have its dangers too. And while it was comforting to have the latest American armaments and machinery, Tito knew full well that in the event of a show-down between East and West, he wouldn't last very long. What he wanted was to be friendly with both sides—and Khrushchev's anti-Stalin ace turned out to be the trump card for Tito too.

But just what is going on between the Kremlin and Tito now seems to be anybody's guess. Unannounced and with

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WHAT might be the most reliable guide that Suez troubles are dying down? Surely nothing could be a much more reliable pointer than last week's decision by The Institute of London Underwriters to reduce rates on cargoes through the Suez Canal to the same level as before the crisis. The rates being those applicable to risks of "war and strike, riot and civil commotion".

On September 18th the rate was raised to a minimum of 5s. 9d. per £100, and the Egyptian ports rate to 7s. per £100. This action was almost immediately regarded as premature panic however, and ten days later both rates were reduced by 2s. 6d.. (Perhaps Eden tipped the City boys the wink that he was not after all going to use the force he was so busily mobilising).

The minimum rate is now 9d. per £100 with certain exceptions and the rate for cargoes to, from or trans-shipping at Egyptian ports is 2s. per £100.

Quite encouraging reductions really—or was it perhaps that the very considerable increases in the first place were a strong indication of just how close Britain got to starting a war against Egypt? Anyway, one thing is quite certain—the Underwriters made greatly increased profits (over 650%) whilst the crisis lasted—which proves once again that the big boys are invariably on a good thing when there are wars or rumours of wars.

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How many people reflected long when the old enemy—Germany—was embraced by Britain as a brother-in-arms against the potentially new enemy—Soviet Russia—and how many will wonder for more than a brief moment at the sneaking visit of Lord Selkirk to Japan on a 'good-will' tour? The purpose of the visit is described in such a way as not to offend all the interested parties, and it is explained that Lord Selkirk's visit was not to 'undertake anything in the way of formal talks

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Japan is a traditional competitor of Britain's in the markets of the world, and the reason for her not taking tariff action against textile imports cannot be explained in terms of British generosity. Apart from the possibility that Japanese goods would have found their way into the Commonwealth countries in the event of the British market being closed to them, there are political considerations why Japan should be treated with considerable care. Already overtures have been made to the Soviet Union by Japan, and China represents a lucrative market for Japanese goods. All these things have to be considered by the British Government as it stretches out the hand of friendship to its ex-enemies.

We are not suggesting that countries should for ever remain in isolation because they have been to war, but smiling diplomacy is no guarantee of peace while individual Governments remain interested only in patching up old hates for the sake of a temporary economic and political expedient.

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- MORE CONTRIBUTIONS TO DEFICIT FUND

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"The only human relations that have value are those that are rooted in mutual freedom."

—BERTRAND RUSSELL.

Expedient Sacraments

WE do not think it necessary to the eventual happiness of a marriage union that the two people concerned should be given a blessing by the Church, but for people who are anxious for such a sacrament and are prevented from receiving this by the presumption of the Bishops of the Church of England, a 'concession' has now been granted on the plea of the Bishop of Birmingham, Dr. H. Montgomery Campbell. He has won the bench over to his view that a six months 'spiritual quarantine' for divorced people who have remarried is against 'some of the most striking commands of our Lord'. Thus, it is now proposed that as soon as a diocesan bishop is satisfied that divorced people who have remarried are in 'good faith', he may approve their receiving the sacraments. It is difficult to know what special qualifications a bishop has for deciding how people should conduct their lives, but they will continue to think of themselves as representatives of Almighty God as long as people are naive enough to grant them powers not possessed by ordinary men.

We may ask why the bishops have now reversed their position in this matter of marrying divorced persons. Is it because they have suddenly seen the light and are convinced that excommunication is against 'some of the most striking commands of our Lord'? Or is it really that the Church is losing ground and can no longer afford to impose its archaic laws on the people? In the competitive struggle for adherents the souls of a few divorced persons can be better than no souls at all.

★

Another Almighty God

ANOTHER man who would set himself up as supreme arbiter in human affairs is Lord President Clyde who, in Edinburgh Court of Sessions, granted to a declared communist and atheist the custody of his child on condition that he allows her to have a Christian upbringing.

This silly old man who has the power to decide the course of some lives said that:

"Atheism and a child's welfare were almost mutually exclusive according to our standards of civilized society, and it would be almost impossible for a Scottish court to give custody of a child to

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Japan is a traditional competitor of Britain's in the markets of the world, and the reason for her not taking tariff action against textile imports cannot be explained in terms of British generosity. Apart from the possibility that Japanese goods would have found their way into the Commonwealth countries in the event of the British market being closed to them, there are political considerations why Japan should be treated with considerable care. Already overtures have been made to the Soviet Union by Japan, and China represents a lucrative market for Japanese goods. All these things have to be considered by the British Government as it stretches out the hand of friendship to its ex-enemies.

We are not suggesting that countries should for ever remain in isolation because they have been to war, but smiling diplomacy is no guarantee of peace while individual Governments remain interested only in patching up old hates for the sake of a temporary economic and political expedient.

the more weapons "we" have the less likely the enemy is to launch into a war—he no doubt means that the Soviet Union will be checked in her military ambitions now that Britain is again ahead with modern armaments. But we are never told what is likely to happen when Russia has developed her war potential to the same extent as Britain and the United States (if she has not done so already). Surely the logical conclusion is, that greater and more efficient weapons must then be developed until such a time as the arsenals are packed to overflowing and weapons either must be used in a war or become obsolete. Assuming that there is no war, is it not a lunatic system which gears its economy to the manufacture of weapons on a vast scale which might never be used?

Of course there is always another way of getting rid of weapons, that is to export them to the troubled spots of the world. In *FREEDOM*, October 6th, an article *Ammunition in Demand*, points to the armaments industry which has been very successful in the export market. The British Productivity Council reports that:

"Ammunition is a dollar-earning export, since most foreign sales have been to N.A.T.O. countries under the United States 'off-shore' procurement programme. It may be said here, in parenthesis, that the success of Gt. Britain in this field is a further indication of the increases in productivity which have been secured."

Can it not therefore be concluded that in the interests of the armament manufacturers and the 'national economy' the more crises there are the better off these interested parties will be?

The cost in human suffering is rarely counted; large sections of the world's population may not be able to eat but at least there will always be guns to fire and guided missiles available to destroy them.



who have remained are in good faith, he may approve their receiving the sacraments. It is difficult to know what special qualifications a bishop has for deciding how people should conduct their lives, but they will continue to think of themselves as representatives of Almighty God as long as people are naive enough to grant them powers not possessed by ordinary men.

We may ask why the bishops have now reversed their position in this matter of marrying divorced persons. Is it because they have suddenly seen the light and are convinced that excommunication is against 'some of the most striking commands of our Lord?' Or is it really that the Church is losing ground and can no longer afford to impose its archaic laws on the people? In the competitive struggle for adherents the souls of a few divorced persons can be better than no souls at all.



Another Almighty God

ANOTHER man who would set himself up as supreme arbiter in human affairs is Lord President Clyde who, in Edinburgh Court of Sessions, granted to a declared communist and atheist the custody of his child on condition that he allows her to have a Christian upbringing.

This silly old man who has the power to decide the course of some lives said that:

"Atheism and a child's welfare were almost mutually exclusive according to our standards of civilized society, and it would be almost impossible for a Scottish court to give custody of a child to an atheist with the prospect of a child being brought up without a religious teaching."

The father accepted the court's decision in order to keep his child and will no doubt counteract the Christian training in his own way. As a communist he ought to recognise the similarity between the authoritarianism of the Christian and Communist Churches.

VIEWPOINT

The Reason Behind Seretse's Return

THE Labour Party and the Conservative Party have been anxious to convey to the world their anxiety over the exiled Seretse Khama, and when it was announced a few weeks ago that he was to be 'allowed' to return to his territory both parties crowded about the part they had played in the decision.

Now anarchists invariably refer to an unwritten law in their assessment of political 'concessions', and that is always to look for the base movements behind what may be considered by most people a human and decent gesture on the part of the Government.

For years Seretse Khama has been forced to live in this country—a step which has been supported by both sides of the house, and then suddenly conscience takes over and Will Griffiths holds his bloated heart at the Labour Party conference and joyously cheers for the re-

turn of Seretse. As we suspected, however, the wet front diverted attention from the real reasons behind the return; it has now been revealed that copper, coal and possibly uranium have been discovered in Bechuanaland and "peaceful and profitable exploitation of the territory's mineral wealth is only possible if tribal affairs are running smoothly".

George Vine writing in the *News Chronicle* (16/10/56) says:—

"Mining companies are as tight as oysters about their finds but it is known here that the giant Oppenheimer group is seeking a concession to put money into Bechuanaland.

Large-scale prospecting backed by the Colonial Development Corporation and latterly by Oppenheimers has been going on for eight years."

Who better to have on the right side than a cultivated European-educated man like Seretse when investing money in a profitable venture?

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THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER IN THE KREMLIN

UNLIKE most capitalist governments, we have no spies in the chancelleries of Eastern Europe and so no special sources of information about what goes on there. Judging, however, from the floundering of usually well-informed correspondents over the last fortnight with regard to the comings-and-goings of Messrs. Khrushchev and Tito, most of the regular channels of information seem to be blocked anyway.

The leaders of the Soviet Union have been in secret confab with the Yugoslav dictator, and the very closeness of the secrecy which has surrounded their deliberations is an indication that something pretty important is being cooked up. And by no means the least likely of the guesses is the one which looks beyond Tito to the Kremlin itself, reminding us that there is a struggle for power going on behind those forbidding walls which has by no means been resolved.

The Appearance of Unity

A dictatorship must present to the world a face of unity. Its strength lies in its monolithic absence of dissent or disagreement. But the world has been shocked too often by the convulsions which have shaken the workers' fatherland, from Trotsky to destalinisation, for us ever to believe again that unanimity of common purpose guides the leaders of Soviet Communism.

Stalin's death was followed by some rolling of heads—just for old time's sake. Beria was completely polished off and Malenkov was demoted, and there is every reason to suppose that he would have been properly liquidated also if there had not been some very good reason why he should be spared. And the most persuasive reason from Khrushchev's point of view would be that Malenkov could count on too much support among the Party high-ups to make his liquidation an easy matter.

Now in spite of the abject way in which the whole party apparently accepted Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin, it is unthinkable that the old tyrant does not still have many (secret) admirers within the Communist Party. At the very least there must be many Bolsheviks who,

while deploring Stalin's mistakes, approved of his capacity to 'get things done'. Indeed, the whole tenor of the Communist re-thinking on Stalin has been to credit him with the tremendous industrial advances in the Soviet Union, while denouncing the 'cult of personality' and the 'illegality of his ruthlessness'. The general line of Soviet development having been accepted as good, there will be no lack of defenders for the general methods.

Changes of Tactics, not Attitude

The criticism of Stalin is really limited to his beastly treatment of his own comrades. His treatment of the Russian masses is still justified as having been necessary in the interests of industrialisation. Now among a body of men as dogmatic and as ruthlessly convinced of their rightness as the Communist leaders in Russia a major change of attitude is a painful process. The zig-zag changes of party line to which we are all accustomed have always been tactical changes for the expediency of the moment. They have had their most serious effect upon the Party's stooges in other countries, but they have never reflected a change of *attitude* on the part of the Soviet leaders.

For them there is only one guiding principle: that which serves their power interests is what is right. And the disagreements which have appeared among that leadership over the years and which have resulted in so many liquidations have been merely the reflection of different interpretations of that policy among those at the top. While Stalin lived, those who differed from him died. But now that there is an uneasy balance of power in the 'collective leadership' there is much more room for manoeuvre, and among the skill-

ed plotters in the Kremlin the patterns of intrigue must be intricate indeed.

If we recognise this situation, we get a sizeable clue to the reasons behind Soviet policy as expressed by Khrushchev. It is naive in the extreme to believe that the 'liberalisation' which is taking place is the result of his concern for the freedom of the ordinary people either in Russia or the satellites. A man with Khrushchev's record as hatchetman for Stalin has forfeited all claim to be regarded as a liberty-lover. There are economic reasons why the rigid Stalin-style labour laws can now be relaxed and why in fact it is in the interests of the economy that they should be. Against this however must be balanced the fear of those who have held the reins through the years that once you start allowing people more liberty you don't know where it might end up. The governors' fear of the people, in fact.

The People Sensed Weakness

To strengthen the case for this faction there is the ready example of Poznan. 'Liberalisation' went farther and faster in Poland than in any other satellite state, to the extent that the people sensed a weakening of the dictatorship and tried to take advantage of it. Just as the East Berliners in 1953 tried to take early advantage of Stalin's death and the resultant uncertainty among their rulers. In both of these peoples' democracies the people were rapidly dealt with by the people's state, but their efforts did show that beneath the surface of communist dictatorships lie seething discontents which are ready to burst forth at the slightest sign of weakness.

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These men never destroyed their looms till they were become useless, worse than useless; till they were become actual impediments to their exertions in obtaining their daily bread. Can you, then, wonder that in times like these, when bankruptcy, convicted fraud, and imputed felony, are found in a station not far beneath that of your Lordships, the lowest, though once most useful portion of the people, should forget their duty in their distresses, and become only less guilty than one of their representatives? But while the exalted offender can find means to baffle the law, new capital

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It has been stated that the persons in the temporary possession of frames connive at their destruction; if this be proved upon enquiry, it were necessary that such material accessories to the crime should be principles in the punishment. But I did hope, that any measure proposed by his Majesty's government, for your Lordships' decision, would have had conciliation for its basis; or, if that were hopeless, that some previous enquiry, some deliberation would have been deemed requisite; not that we should have been called at once without examination, and without cause, to pass sentences by wholesale and sign death-warrants blindfold. But, admitting that these men had no cause of complaint; that the grievances of them and their employers were alike groundless; that they deserved the worst; what inefficiency, what imbecility has been evinced in the method chosen to reduce them! Why were the military called out to be made a mockery of, if they were to be called out at all? . . . Such marchings and counter-marchings! from Nottingham to Bullwell, from Bullwell to Banford, from Banford to Mansfield! and when at length the detachments arrived at their destination, in all "the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war," they

came just in time to witness the mischief which had been done, and ascertain the escape of the perpetrators, to collect the *spolio opima* in the fragments of broken frames, and return to their quarters amidst the derision of old women, and the hootings of children. Now, though, in a free country, it were to be wished, that our military should never be too formidable, at least to ourselves, I cannot see the policy of placing them in situations where they can only be made ridiculous. As the sword is the worse argument that can be used, so should it be the last. In this instance it has been the first; but providentially as yet only in the scabbard. The present measure will, indeed, pluck it from the sheath; yet had proper meetings been held in the earlier stages of these riots, had the grievances of these men and their masters (for they also had their grievances) been fairly weighed and justly examined, I do think that means might have been devised to restore these workmen to their avocations and tranquillity to the county. At present the county suffers from the double infliction of an idle military and a starving population. In what state of apathy have we been plunged so long, that now for the first time the House has been officially apprised of these disturbances? All this has been transacting within 130 miles of London, and yet we, "good easy men, have deemed full sure our greatness was a ripening," and have sat down to enjoy our foreign triumphs in the midst of domestic calamity. But all the cities you have taken, all the armies which have retreated before your leaders, are but paltry subjects of self-congratulation, if your land divides against itself, and your dragoons and your executioners must be let loose against your fellow-citizens. You call these men a mob, desperate, dangerous, and ignorant; and seem to think that the only way to quiet the *bellua multorum capitum* is to lop off a few of its superfluous heads. But even a mob may be better reduced to reason by a mixture of conciliation and firmness than by additional irritation and redoubled penalties. Are we aware of our obligations to a mob? It is the mob that labour in your fields and serve in your houses—that man your navy, and recruit your army—that have enabled you to defy all the world, and can also defy you when neglect and calamity have driven them to despair! You may call

the people a mob, a mob too often of the people. A with what alacrity to fly to the succor, leaving the country to the parish. When the under the retreat are was stretched opened, from the widow's mit enable them to replenish their moment, when but most unfortunate are struggling with ships and hunger abroad it should less sum, a tithe on Portugal, even I cannot admit not have been rments, would ha unnecessary the bayonet and gib friends have to to admit a pros though never did I have traversed Peninsula, I hav most oppressed never under the governments did wretchedness as return in the ve country. And w After months of action worse comes forth the failing nostrum from the days of time. After feel ing the head over the usual course mawkish police, military, these c ate in death, the the prescription grados. Setting justice and the c bill, are, there sufficient in your blood enough up more must be p to Heaven and t will you carry th you commit a own prisons? V in every field, a scarecrows? or w

OR POWER IN THE KREMLIN

Stalin's mistakes, his capacity to 'get on'. Indeed, the whole communist re-thinking of history to credit him with industrial advances and economic growth, while denouncing his 'personality' and the 'ruthlessness' of the Soviet development. Accepted as good, there are no defenders for the

Attitudes, not Attitude
The attitude of Stalin is really the result of the treatment of the masses. His treatment of the masses is still justified as necessary in the industrialisation. Now the men as dogmatic are convinced of their Communist leaders' change of attitude. The zig-zag line to which we are used have always been excuses for the expedient. They have had a serious effect upon the masses in other countries have never reflected on the part of the rulers.

There is only one guiding principle which serves their purpose: what is right. And the excuses which have appeared under leadership over the years have resulted in justifications have been made of different intentions that policy among the masses. While Stalin lived, the excuse from him died. There is an uneasy feeling in the 'collective' that there is much more room for change among the skill-

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Now there are men in the Krem-

lin who are not prepared to risk this. Khrushchev is. Therein lies just about the only difference between the old Stalin rearguard—Molotov, Malenkov and Suslov—and the new leadership as represented by Khrushchev and Bulganin.

When Stalin died, his successors were faced with the problem of unravelling the mess he bequeathed to them: the cold war, the waning influence of the Communist Parties throughout the world, the implacable hostility of the peoples of the satellite countries, the split with

FREEDOM

Tito, the crippling bureaucracy and the wasteful labour-camps, inefficient agriculture, economic isolation from the rest of the world, and military encirclement.

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It would be surprising if there were not disagreement on how to tackle that lot. And disagreement among top Communists is a grim business. In any shift (or attempted shift) of power in the Soviet Union, the first head to roll has always been that of the boss of the secret police. So Beria bit the dust. But after his demise the nearest thing to a liquidation on the Stalinist line

Continued on p. 3

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Byron on the Frame Breakers

(from last week)

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the people a mob; but do not forget that a mob too often speaks the sentiments of the people. And here I must remark, with what alacrity you are accustomed to fly to the succour of your distressed allies, leaving the distressed of your own country to the care of Providence or the parish. When the Portuguese suffered under the retreat of the French, every man was stretched out, every hand was opened, from the rich man's largess to the widow's mite, all was bestowed, to enable them to rebuild their villages and replenish their granaries. And at this moment, when thousands of misguided but most unfortunate fellow-countrymen are struggling with the extremes of hard-

must to bring this measure into effect) by decimation? place the country under martial law? depopulate and lay waste all around you? and restore Sherwood Forest as an acceptable gift to the crown, in its former condition of a royal chase and an asylum for outlaws? Are these the remedies for a starving and desperate populace? Will the famished wretch who has braved your bayonets be appalled by your gibbets? When death is a relief, and the only relief it appears that you will afford him, will he be dragooned into tranquility? Will that which could not be effected by your grenadiers, be accomplished by your executioners? If you proceed by the forms of law, where is your evidence? Those who have refused to impeach their accomplices, when transportation only was the punishment, will hardly be tempted to witness against them when

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ed that the persons in session of frames con- struction; if this be ury, it were necessary al accessories to the principles in the punish- ope, that any measure Majesty's government, decision, would have or its basis; or, if that at some previous en- ation would have been not that we should once without examin- t cause, to pass sen- e and sign death-war- But, admitting that o cause of complaint; s of them and their like groundless; that e worst; what ineffi- ility has been evinc- osen to reduce them! itary called out to be of, if they were to be . . . Such marchings ings! from Notting- from Bullwell to Ban- d to Mansfield! and detachments arrived at all "the pride, pomp, of glorious war," they

came just in time to witness the mischief which had been done, and ascertain the escape of the perpetrators, to collect the *spolio opima* in the fragments of broken frames, and return to their quarters amidst the derision of old women, and the hootings of children. Now, though, in a free country, it were to be wished, that our military should never be too formidable, at least to ourselves, I cannot see the policy of placing them in situa- tions where they can only be made ridiculous. As the sword is the worse argument that can be used, so should it be the last. In this instance it has been the first; but providentially as yet only in the scabbard. The present mea- sure will, indeed, pluck it from the sheath; yet had proper meetings been held in the earlier stages of these riots, had the grievances of these men and their masters (for they also had their griev- ances) been fairly weighed and justly examined, I do think that means might have been devised to restore these work- men to their avocations and tranquillity to the county. At present the county suffers from the double infliction of an idle military and a starving population. In what state of apathy have we been plunged so long, that now for the first time the House has been officially ap- prised of these disturbances? All this has been transacting within 130 miles of London, and yet we, "good easy men, have deemed full sure our greatness was a ripening," and have sat down to enjoy our foreign triumphs in the midst of domestic calamity. But all the cities you have taken, all the armies which have retreated before your leaders, are but paltry subjects of self-congratulation, if your land divides against itself, and your dragoons and your executioners must be let loose against your fellow-citizens. You call these men a mob, desperate, dangerous, and ignorant; and seem to think that the only way to quiet the *bellua multorum capitum* is to lop off a few of its superfluous heads. But even a mob may be better reduced to reason by a mixture of conciliation and firmness than by additional irritation and re- doubled penalties. Are we aware of our obligations to a mob? It is the mob that labour in your fields and serve in your houses—that man your navy, and recruit your army—that have enabled you to defy all the world, and can also defy you when neglect and calamity have driven them to despair! You may call

the people a mob; but do not forget that a mob too often speaks the sentiments of the people. And here I must remark, with what alacrity you are accustomed to fly to the succour of your distressed allies, le aving the distressed of your own country to the care of Providence or the parish. When the Portuguese suffered under the retreat of the French, every are was stretched out, every hand was opened, from the rich man's largess to the widow's mite, all was bestowed, to enable them to rebuild their villages and replenish their granaries. And at this moment, when thousands of misguided but most unfortunate fellow-countrymen are struggling with the extremes of hard- ships and hunger, as your charity began abroad it should end at home. A much less sum, a tithe of the bounty bestowed on Portugal, even if those men (which I cannot admit without enquiry) could not have been restored to their employ- ments, would have rendered unnecessary unnecessary the tender mercies of the bayonet and gibbet. But doubtless our friends have too many foreign claims to admit a prospect of domestic relief; though never did such objects demand it. I have traversed the seat of war in the Peninsula, I have been in some of the most oppressed provinces of Turkey, but never under the most despotic of infidel governments did I behold such a squalid wretchedness as I have seen since my return in the very heart of a Christian country. And what are your remedies? After months of inaction, and months of action worse than inactivity, at length comes forth the grand specific, the never- failing nostrum of all state physicians, from the days of Draco to the present time. After feeling the pulse and shak- ing the head over the patient, prescribing the usual course of warm water of your mawkish police, and the lancets of your military, these convulsions must termin- ate in death, the sure consummation of the prescription of all political San- grados. Setting aside the palpable in- justice and the certain inefficiency of the bill, are there not capital punishments sufficient in your statutes? Is there not blood enough upon your penal code that more must be poured forth to ascend to Heaven and testify against you? How will you carry the bill into effect? Can you commit a whole country to their own prisons? Will you erect a gibbet in every field, and hang up men like scarecrows? or will you proceed (as you

must to bring this measure into effect) by decimation? place the country under martial law? depopulate and lay waste all around you? and restore Sherwood Forest as an acceptable gift to the crown, in its former condition of a royal chase and an asylum for outlaws? Are these the remedies for a starving and desperate populace? Will the famished wretch who has braved your bayonets be ap- palled by your gibbets? When death is a relief, and the only relief it appears that you will afford him, will he be dragooned into tranquility? Will that which could not be effected by your grenadiers, be accomplished by your executioners? If you proceed by the forms of law, where is your evidence? Those who have refused to impeach their accomplices, when transportation only was the punishment, will hardly be tempted to witness against them when death is the penalty. With all due defer- ence to the noble lords opposite, I think a little investigation, some previous en- quiry would induce even them to change their purpose. The most favour- ite state measure, so marvellously effica- cious in many and recent instances, temporising, would not be without its advantages in this. When a proposal is made to emancipate or relieve, you hesi- tate, you deliberate for years, you tem- porise and tamper with the minds of men; but a death-bill must be passed off hand, without a thought of the conse- quences. Sure I am, from what I have heard, and from what I have seen, that to pass the bill under all the existing circumstances, without enquiry, without deliberation, would only be to add in- justice to irritation, and barbarity to neglect. The framers of such a bill must be content to inherit the honours of that Athenian lawgiver whose edicts were said to be written not in ink but in blood. But suppose it past; suppose one of these men, as I have seen them—meagre with famine, sullen with despair, careless of a life which your Lordships are perhaps about to value at something less than the price of a stocking-frame—suppose this man, surrounded by the children for whom he is unable to procure bread at the hazard of his existence, about to be torn for ever from a family which he lately supported in peaceful industry, and which it is not his fault that he can no longer so support—suppose this man, and there are ten thousand such from whom you may select your victims, drag- ged into court, to be tried for this new offence, by this new law: still, there are, in my opinion—twelve butchers for a jury, and a Jefferies for a judge!

Speech in the House of Lords, 1812.

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

Vol. 17, No. 42. October 20, 1956

The Refugee Problem The Roof-Dwellers of Hongkong

DEAR SIR,

According to the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" every man has an inalienable right to "a standard of living adequate to the health and well-being of himself and family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care".

May I ask you to bring to the notice of your readers some facts recently given to me by Pastor K. L. Stumpf of the Lutheran World Federation, who is Chairman of the China International Refugee Council, about the conditions of unspeakable destitution endured by the 600,000 refugees in Hong Kong—perhaps normally thought of as a prosperous British Colony.

Some 200,000 of these refugees—many more than the entire population of Wolverhampton, Derby or Oxford live on the roof-tops of tenement houses, in shacks made from cardboard, tin or sacking, while sweeping fires are apt to reduce the squatters' "homes" to ashes. 60,000 children live with no care or protection, begging by day and sleeping wherever they can at night. There is a desperate lack of water and sanitation and hospital facilities are so inadequate that patients often have to squat for days outside the hospital before anything can be done for them; when admitted they are quite likely to find themselves sharing a bed with another patient. In all probability both will be suffering from Tuberculosis, it being estimated that 95% are infected, a higher percentage than in any other part of the world. For something like 100,000 children there is no education whatsoever. Unemployment is rife.

The condition of these roof dwellers is desperate—worse it is said than any conditions endured by refugees in Europe after the war. The Hong Kong Government is faced with immense problems which, within the means available to it, it has done all it can to overcome; but utter destitution and intense human suffering on this scale seems

"THE Challenge of Political Courage" was the title of an article which appeared some time back in the magazine section of the *New York Times*. The article was important not only for what it said, but for who said it. The writer of the article is John F. Kennedy, Democratic senator from Massachusetts. He played a big part in the last Democratic National Convention where he was almost nominated for vice-president. He also wrote a widely read book, "Profiles in Courage". He is fully qualified to discuss the relationship of a lawmaker to the people who elected him, to his party, to his fellow legislators, to his own personal and family interests and, above all, to his own sense of ethical values.

He shows that there are too many temptations, too many political obligations that must be paid. The path of true virtue is rocky and straying from the straight and narrow road is easy. We will let the senator state his difficulties in his own words. The first obstacle is that people do not have much confidence in their representatives. Kennedy gives a few examples:

"People don't give a damn," a syndicated columnist told millions of readers not so many years ago, "what the average senator or congressman thinks. The reason they don't care is that they know what you hear in Congress is 99% tripe, ignorance and demagoguery, and not to be relied upon. . . ."

Kennedy should not go too hard on the columnist for he admits that this feeling is shared by "too many Americans", including quite a few senators, and even a cabinet member in a former administration from whose diary he quotes:

"While I am reluctant to believe in the total depravity of the Senate, I place but little dependence on the honesty and truthfulness of a large portion of the senators. A majority of them are small lights, mentally weak, and wholly unfit to be senators. Some are vulgar demagogues, some are men of wealth who have purchased their positions . . . (some are) men of narrow intellect, limited comprehension, and low partisan prejudice . . ."

The senator also quotes Walter Lippman who "after nearly a half century of careful observation rendered a harsh judgment both on the politician and the electorate". Says Lippmann:

"With exceptions so rare that they are regarded as miracles of nature, success-

coming in there would be a deficit of at least £1 million by the end of 1956. At this rate at the end of the four-year period there will be 23,000 people still left in the camps and another 150,000 not settled outside the camps.

Mr. Read, acting United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees said there were 157 camps left in Europe. Germany would close eight this year and seventeen next year; Austria would close nine this year;

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American Politician on Poli

ful democratic politicians are insecure and intimidated men. They advance politically only as they placate, appease, bribe, seduce, bamboozle, or otherwise manage to manipulate the demanding elements in their constituencies . . ."

We don't consider this judgment too harsh when we look over the record of such outstanding legislators as Senator McCarthy, Huey Long, Bilbo, Eastland, Dies, McCarran, Taft and many others too numerous to mention.

Another pressure is the necessity for the legislator to get along with his fellow members. Kennedy compares the Senate to a club where one is expected to abide by the "rules and patterns, not to pursue a unique and independent course which would embarrass or irritate the other members . . . The way to get along", I was told, "is to 'go along'."

"Going along" means following the party leadership. If the senator dares to do what is right he is blackballed and, worst of all, he arouses the antagonism of the contributors to his campaign fund. He must, according to Kennedy, reckon with the fact that he will not be re-elected if he doesn't behave himself. Not to be re-elected can have severe repercussions. The senator lists some of them:

Defeat is not only a setback for the senator himself . . . he is also obliged to consider the effect upon the party he supports, upon his friends and supporters who have gone out on a limb for him or invested their savings in his career, and even upon his wife and children whose happiness and security (often depending at least in part on success in office) may mean more to him

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The condition of these roof dwellers is desperate—worse it is said than any conditions endured by refugees in Europe after the war. The Hong Kong Government is faced with immense problems which, within the means available to it, it has done all it can to overcome; but utter destitution and intense human suffering on this scale seems to call for immediate and vigorous action and, one can only hope that, if the nature of the problem is such that a local solution to it is not possible, some initiative will be taken to make this matter a United Nations concern.

Meanwhile, some of your readers might like to know that any money received by the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, 17, Broad Street, Oxford, as a result of this letter will be passed on to relief workers. In this way some may be saved from the worst consequences of these conditions.

Banbury. FRANCIS JUDE.

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[We gladly publish this letter for the ghastly facts it presents of conditions in Hong Kong. We do not however share our correspondent's optimism that the problem can be made "a United Nations concern". Only last week we read that the United Nations Refugee Fund was aiming at closing all refugee camps in Europe by the end of 1958 and that for this purpose £6 million were required. This is a small amount compared with the money expended in devising new weapons for man's annihilation and the creation of a new refugee problem at some later date. Yet last year only £947,857 was received from Governments (including £80,000 from the United Kingdom Government) and judging by the rate at which contributions were

be relied upon . . . Kennedy should not go too hard on the columnist for he admits that this feeling is shared by "too many Americans", including quite a few senators, and even a cabinet member in a former administration from whose diary he quotes:

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Mr. Read, acting United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees said there were 157 camps left in Europe. Germany would close eight this year and seventeen next year; Austria would close nine this year; Greece had promised to close all (about fifteen) of its camps by the end of next year; but Italy had not been able to give any assurance because of the influx of refugees, mainly from Yugoslavia.

The situation in the camps was still "pretty horrible". In one camp in an old hotel near Athens cubicles of cardboard divided the people. There was practically no light, the staircase was falling apart, and the sanitary arrangements were such as might be necessary for soldiers or Boy Scout campers, but not for families who had to live there for years.

That human feelings have not altogether been destroyed is shown by the fact that in the first week of a national campaign for refugees launched by the United Nations Association, about £20,000 has been received. But this is not enough. The rate at which these refugees can be released must not be determined by considerations of money. If the programme can be speeded up then no fellow-being should be expected to remain in these camps a moment longer than is imposed by the problems of rehabilitation. Insist that a government—preferable one's own—advance the £6 million required and then a world-wide campaign should be launched to raise every penny. Not to repay the government—after all it's our money!—but in order to emphasise that the problem of the refugees is our problem!—EDITORS.]

supporters who have gone out on a limb for him or invested their savings in his career, and even upon his wife and children whose happiness and security (often depending at least in part on success in office) may mean more to him

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The subject had in fact already come up at a meeting of the Astronautical Society in Rome a short time ago, and those who were present extracted a considerable amount of amusement at the prospect of cheating time itself. Possibly shades of H. G. Wells and his Time Machine were invoked, although it cannot really be said that Wells had the same idea in mind.

The idea in fact stems from Einstein's theory of relativity. He showed that if two planets were moving away from each other at a constant speed, then observers on one of the planets would find that a variety of physical processes on the other planet appeared to be taking place more slowly. This would apply to the ticking of clocks and the beating of hearts.

This theory is agreed by both Dingle and McCrae, and the dispute is much more subtle than a straight disagreement on whether Einstein was right or not.

Briefly the argument put forward by McCrae is that if a traveller is moving quickly enough (the sort of speed referred to is measured in tens of thousands of kilometres a second—or the velocity of light), he appears to be living at a slower rate both on the inward and the outward journey. His heart would have made fewer beats and statistically he could be said to have aged less.

Professor Dingle has strongly objected to this idea (although it may well seem to be highly reasonable if one accepts the theory of relativity), and he produces a brilliantly simple answer to confound McCrae. He says that: if one applies the theory of relativity (!) as it should be applied to the relative motion of two bodies, then it is just as true to say that the space ship is at rest and the earth in motion, as it is to say that the situation is the reverse.

Therefore, he continues, this will mean that the people on the space ship will consider that the people on earth have not aged as much as they should, whereas those on earth will think the

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Horse's Mouth Department American Politician on Politics

Political Courage

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than anything else.

In addition to his other troubles the harassed lawmaker has to contend with the most irritating of all pressures—the demands of the different interest groups (lobbies), the organized letter writers, the economic blocs, and even (ungrateful scoundrel) the "average voter". But strange to say, the list of resignations from the Senate or any other legislative body is practically non-existent. The politicians do not seem to mind the drawbacks—on the contrary, they rather like it. Kennedy is objective. He lists some of the advantage as follows:

Few senators "retire to Pocatello" by choice. The virus of Potomac Fever, which rages everywhere in Washington, breeds nowhere in more virulent form than on the Senate floor. The prospect of forced retirement from the "most exclusive club in the world", the possibilities of giving up the interesting work, the fascinating trappings and the impressive prerogatives of Congressional office, can cause even the most courageous politician serious loss of sleep.

Kennedy has inadvertently let the cat out of the bag. Seldom have we had the pleasure of reading a first-hand report of what goes on behind the scenes. The evils of the parliamentary system which were exposed by such Libertarian militants as Bakunin, Proudhon, Kropotkin, Godwin, Malatesta, Mella and many others, are fully substantiated by Kennedy.

The difference between them and defenders of the parliamentary system is that they draw entirely different conclusions from these facts. Kennedy offers no solution to the problem outside of

better public support for honest and courageous legislators. The Socialists think that these evils can be corrected by electing a workers' government. They have learned nothing from the tragic events of the past, as can be seen from the behaviour of the Social Democratic parties here and in Europe. The same can be said for the "revolutionary" advocates of a Labour party who naively believe that Labour party politicians will behave differently.

Stubbornly they cling to the Marxist dogma that participation in parliament can still serve a useful function. They are guilty of deception and hypocrisy when they admit in private that they have no use for parliamentarianism, and then publicly advocate the election of workers' candidates to Congress, the excuse being that they want to use the elections in order to get free publicity.

The Libertarians have always understood that the evils pointed out by Kennedy are inherent in the nature of the State, that they are the inevitable result of the concentration of political power. This has been amply demonstrated by the history of the authoritarian socialist movements. The things that Kennedy is talking about are not peculiar to representative government. They apply with equal cogency to any organism which is removed from the will of the people and is controlled by an irresponsible, self-perpetuating bureaucracy.

All social life is corrupted by the introduction of statist principles. The political parties, the machine-ridden labour unions, the educational system and the giant economic monopolies—all of these and many others suffer from the same deficiencies. A radical departure will sooner or later have to be made and society rebuilt along Libertarian lines.

From "Views & Comments"
New York, Sept. '56.

FIRST THINGS FIRST - OR

A Time for Relativity

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same of those on the space ship. This says Dingle is absurd (and one cannot help but agree), and to be so confused by mathematics is foolish.

McCrae's reply to this and Dingle's consequent come-back provide interesting, if somewhat complicated reading, and it is not necessary to go into their explanations here. Those readers who find the matter of sufficient interest might carry out further researches for themselves, but it is perhaps reasonable to comment that the difference between the two professors is the well-known basic difference of approach between the pure scientist and the applied scientist—whether or not the two professors are consciously "pure" or "applied" scientists or not.

The argument remains unresolved for the moment, but Professor Dingle claims to be worried about it because he believes there may be a resultant social upheaval which might lead to insistence upon space travel as a means of living to the ripe age of a Methuselah.

As a regular contributor to this paper

amusing to consider the theoretical possibilities which present themselves to the would-be space traveller (otherwise this article should not have been written), it should be remembered by Professor Dingle and others like him, that there are many, many rewarding fields of research which could be investigated in order to try and prolong the lives of those who might otherwise be killed within the next decade or so on the battlefields of the world.

Whereas Sir George Thompson suggests that in 17 years "earth time" about 13% ageing might be saved, a young man of twenty who is killed because of a highly scientific hydrogen bomb has probably lost over 70% of his "earth time".

Controversies are often highly entertaining, and some are very important, but there are so many "social upheavals" on earth at this very moment, that it seems almost irrelevant to bring them in unnecessarily as being urgent, when they do not exist and probably will not exist for another half century at least. A

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others, are fully substantiated by Ken-
nedy.

The difference between them and de-
fenders of the parliamentary system is
that they draw entirely different conclu-
sions from these facts. Kennedy offers
no solution to the problem outside of

and the giant economic monopolies—all
of these and many others suffer from the
same deficiencies. A radical departure
will sooner or later have to be made and
society rebuilt along Libertarian lines.

From "Views & Comments"

New York, Sept. '56.

FIRST THINGS FIRST - OR

A Time for Relativity

AN interesting controversy concerning space travel has recently had some publicity in the press; it started in this country in the columns of that august scientific journal *Nature*, and because it appealed to the imagination, found its way into many less specialised papers.

The problem in question is whether travellers in space would be found to have aged less than their less spectacular fellows left on earth on their return from a long voyage. Involved in the *Nature* controversy are two Professors, Dingle and McCrae. Their differences having been started off by a recent book by Sir George Thompson, in which it was put forward that travellers to even the nearest stars would spend seventeen years or more on their journey, would appear to have aged by only fourteen and a half years.

The subject had in fact already come up at a meeting of the Astronautical Society in Rome a short time ago, and those who were present extracted a considerable amount of amusement at the prospect of cheating time itself. Possibly shades of H. G. Wells and his Time Machine were invoked, although it cannot really be said that Wells had the same idea in mind.

The idea in fact stems from Einstein's theory of relativity. He showed that if two planets were moving away from each other at a constant speed, then observers on one of the planets would find that a variety of physical processes on the other planet appeared to be taking place more slowly. This would apply to the ticking of clocks and the beating of hearts.

This theory is agreed by both Dingle and McCrae, and the dispute is much more subtle than a straight disagreement on whether Einstein was right or not.

Briefly the argument put forward by McCrae is that if a traveller is moving quickly enough (the sort of speed referred to is measured in tens of thousands of kilometres a second—or the velocity of light), he appears to be living at a slower rate both on the inward and the outward journey. His heart would have made fewer beats and statistically he could be said to have aged less.

Professor Dingle has strongly objected to this idea (although it may well seem to be highly reasonable if one accepts the theory of relativity), and he produces a brilliantly simple answer to confound McCrae. He says that: if one applies the theory of relativity (!) as it should be applied to the relative motion of two bodies, then it is just as true to say that the space ship is at rest and the earth in motion, as it is to say that the situation is the reverse.

Therefore, he continues, this will mean that the people on the space ship will consider that the people on earth have not aged as much as they should, whereas those on earth will think the

same of those on the space ship. This says Dingle is absurd (and one cannot help but agree), and to be so confused by mathematics is foolish.

McCrae's reply to this and Dingle's consequent come-back provide interesting, if somewhat complicated reading, and it is not necessary to go into their explanations here. Those readers who find the matter of sufficient interest might carry out further researches for themselves, but it is perhaps reasonable to comment that the difference between the two professors is the well-known basic difference of approach between the pure scientist and the applied scientist—whether or not the two professors are consciously "pure" or "applied" scientists or not.

The argument remains unresolved for the moment, but Professor Dingle claims to be worried about it because he believes there may be a resultant social upheaval which might lead to insistence upon space travel as a means of living to the ripe age of a Methuselah.

As a regular contributor to this paper however, one is in duty bound to mention one salient factor as to social upheavals. Although it is interesting and

amusing to consider the theoretical possibilities which present themselves to the would-be space traveller (otherwise this article should not have been written), it should be remembered by Professor Dingle and others like him, that there are many, many rewarding fields of research which could be investigated in order to try and prolong the lives of those who might otherwise be killed within the next decade or so on the battlefields of the world.

Whereas Sir George Thompson suggests that in 17 years "earth time" about 13% ageing might be saved, a young man of twenty who is killed because of a highly scientific hydrogen bomb has probably lost over 70% of his "earth time".

Controversies are often highly entertaining, and some are very important, but there are so many "social upheavals" on earth at this very moment, that it seems almost irrelevant to bring them in unnecessarily as being urgent, when they do not exist and probably will not exist for another half century at least. A sense of proportion is desirable—a feeling for the theory of relative importance.

S.B.

The Struggle for Power

Continued
from p. 2

was the demotion of Malenkov—and he is still alive. Which indicates that power is fairly evenly balanced.

Khrushchev and Bulganin have become travelling salesmen for their new line. They clearly recognised that Stalinism was too strongly entrenched in the very structure of the Party for them to influence it easily or quickly from within. They have therefore set out to popularise themselves as far and as wide as possible to build up strength outside the Party to counteract the strength of the Stalin-style old guard inside the Party. This does not mean of course that they are in any way fundamentally different themselves. Their difference lies in a shift of emphasis and a change of tactics; a recognition that Stalinism caused more harm than good to world communism.

So Khrushchev denounced Stalin and launched the new look. He and Bulganin have demonstrated their capacity for strong liquor half-way round the globe, from Britain to India, not forgetting Yugoslavia. But we may be sure that all the time they have been looking over their shoulders, wondering what the boys they left behind are getting up

to. If the Khrushchev line succeeds, and well it might, he will have proved his points. In the Soviet Union, as elsewhere, nothing succeeds like success.

The British Example

Khrushchev is playing with fire, but he has the example of the British Empire before him. Had the British attempted to retain all its imperial territories by force it may well have lost some of them for good—India for example. But by coming to terms on Indian independence and by changing the Empire into a Commonwealth, the British have much more sensibly stabilised their sphere of influence.

Friendship and mutual respect are more binding ties than force and contempt. B. & K. may be sensible enough to recognise that Russia's bonds with the satellite countries will be strengthened, not weakened, by granting them some semblance of independence, if not the real thing (for neither have the new Commonwealth countries got this).

But it may all depend on the struggle for power inside the Kremlin—and perhaps we shall see that resolved (for the time being at least) before very long.

COMMENT ON

TORIES - SUEZ - UNITED NATIONS - & POLITICS

THE Suez storm is dying out in the corridors of the United Nations. The firm line adopted by the government's spokesmen at the recent Conservative Conference was to the effect that there will be no "flinching" if the appeal to the United Nations fails.

"Should that hard test come upon us—declared Mr. Nutting—and there is surely no one who would wish that it shall, I do not believe that this country will flinch from it to-day any more than in the past."

Such rumblings are only to be expected at a Party rally, especially when it had been anticipated in some quarters that the Conservatives were going to have to weather a political storm among their followers over Suez policy, or that Eden was on his way out, or that the Tories were so divided that there would undoubtedly be an election next year. Indeed the enthusiasm, the sense of "unity", at the Labour conference was in part due to the mistaken assumption that the Conservative political machine was punch-drunk and waiting to be counted out. Instead by 4,199 votes to 1 the government's emergency resolution and the addition put forward by Captain Waterhouse, leader of the "Suez rebels", was accepted (not even Stalin, Tito or Nasser could achieve such unanimity in spite of their dictatorial systems as was achieved by the government at Llandudno!)

★

THE original "crisis" arose, we were then told, as a result of Nasser's seizure of the canal, for, by so doing, he threatened a "vital life-line" both for this country as well as the Commonwealth and most of Western Europe. Every attempt was then made by the British and the French to make it as difficult as possible for Nasser to keep open the canal. When the financial squeeze and the withdrawal of the pilots (no one surely now believes

that the pilots resigned on principle or as a gesture to Britain's internationalist spirit), failed to stop the flow of ships through the canal, and the London conference did not succeed in provoking Nasser into rash actions, Britain's bluff was well and truly called. Recourse to the United Nations was the only political loop-hole left to the Western politicians, and it is important to stress that what has so far taken place at the United Nations both in the Assembly as well as in the private talks between the Egyptian, French and British representatives has nothing to do with the original cause of the "crisis"—of keeping open the "vital" waterway. This was solved almost before the "crisis" had emerged, in that the flow of ships through the canal has never stopped (nearly 3,000 have passed through without incidents since the nationalisation). And whatever Sir Anthony may think of the value of Nasser's word a much more realistic picture of the situation is offered by the announcement that the Institute of London Underwriters have reduced their shipping risk rates on cargoes through the Suez Canal to the levels prevailing before the dispute. They obviously consider the matter settled in spite of Mr. Nutting's strong talk at the Conservative rally, and possible wranglings in the United Nations Assembly.

The "canal crisis" is now simply political, and the politicians are in process of extricating themselves from the mess with their dignity unimpaired. At their secret meetings the representatives of France, Egypt and Britain had "hammered out" six "agreements" in principle which are that:

"1. There should be free and open transit through the canal without discrimination, overt or covert" (a cardinal point in the Constantinople convention of 1888).

"2. The sovereignty of Egypt should be respected.

"3. The operation of the canal shall

be insulated (Mr. Dulles's word) from the politics of any country.

"4. The manner of fixing tolls and charges should be decided by agreement between Egypt and the users.

"5. A fair proportion of the dues should be allotted to development.

"6. In case of dispute, unresolved affairs between the Suez Canal Company (which was dispossessed by Egypt's seizure) and the Egyptian Government should be settled by arbitration with suitable terms of reference and suitable provisions for the payment of sums found to be due."

(Originally the word "shall" appeared where "should" was later substituted.)

This is pretty mild stuff after the language of the sabre-rattling period and the British attitude at the London Conference when the Canal Users' Association was being framed. The "illegal seizure" has now been swallowed, though not in so many words! But it is implicit in every one of the six "agreements in principle" which again without saying so plainly, accepts the idea that Egypt will run the Canal. British honour has been saved by agreements (3), (5) and (6).

By the time official agreement is reached we shall be at the stage in the game where Governments and Press will be arguing that white is black. Thus Nasser and Eden will both be able to tell "their" respective people that the Agreement is a victory for justice and the "rule of law" and both be vindicated in the eyes of their followers. And to anyone who were to ask why they couldn't agree in the first place, the reply would be that a number of disagreements had to be "hammered out" point by point. In fact the truth of the matter is that in power politics you only find solutions when your bluff has failed. Which doesn't mean that you don't agree when the bluff succeeds, but that the terms of agreement are somewhat different. In politics you give nothing away . . . except when it has been taken away and every effort to recover it has failed!

Poor Facilities for Sheffield Meetings

IT is perhaps not surprising that local authorities in general make no attempt to provide proper facilities for public meetings outdoors. For although the soap-box is a useful medium for the aspiring politician, once he has reached the status of Councillor or Alderman he is able to air his views in the Council chamber and at official functions, while the columns of the local press are invariably generous in their treatment of his slightest utterances.

Most people tend to consider unim-

posed, exposing their ideas to the ridicule or the approval of their fellows.

Many local authorities, however, do not think this important. Take Sheffield, for example. There, the City Council has built itself a magnificent City Hall, but those citizens who cannot or do not wish to hire a meeting hall, have to stand in the gutter outside this imposing pile, themselves and their audience exposed to continual interruption by passing traffic.

Barker's Pool, where outdoor meet-

ings are held, is a place where the pace to get their citizens talking again?

All enquiries to:

Harry Wardle, 48 Burns Road, Cookesmoor, Sheffield.

The South FIRE HER! FIRE HER!

FOR four months, blonde, Tampa-born Dr. Deborah Coggins, 32, served as the first woman health officer of Florida's

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A FURTHER

Nicosia (2/1) It was announced that a curfew would be in force daily instead of on certain days. This will continue "until further notice" will be a main street to protest to-day's disorder.

Pope D Women

THE Pope has said of his seeming disapproval of the pronouncement that women should not work in heavy industry, apparently intended to keep Communist countries out of the works and many of the same type.

He referred to the Vatican's masterpiece, presumed that he was to convey that he was suitable for women to agree, or alternatively, possibly be that he was the same conclusion in the abstract to reach at a far earlier stage. Or is the remark a sardonic suggestion of what has a proverb: "God would we do"—Amen.

VESTED INTEREST PATRIOTISM

The secretary of the growers' Association of Cyprus, Governor of Cyprus John Harding, has brought gallows to Cyprus with them. Cyprus wine.

'The Old La

JUDGE TUDOR

February, may be a contradictory figure, a degree of humanity not often mixed with black gown.

When he died in a will, and when the gross £37 15s. 6d. week it was also given considerable ex-prisoners to set and "help them go

leader of the "Suez rebels" was accepted (not even Stalin, Tito or Nasser could achieve such unanimity in spite of their dictatorial systems as was achieved by the government at Llandudno!)

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Most people tend to consider unimportant that which they have themselves outgrown. Which is why the old rarely have patience with the needs of the young. But the function of a local authority should be to meet the needs of the people in its locality—and the more it aims at fulfilling this function the more will it allow and indeed encourage the people themselves to express their needs.

One of the few means open to unprivileged people (the majority everywhere) to express their ideas and their needs is the outdoor meeting. It follows then that a conscientious local authority should be concerned to provide facilities for such meetings, where the citizens can gather and express them-

selves, exposing their ideas to the ridicule or the approval of their fellows.

Many local authorities, however, do not think this important. Take Sheffield, for example. There, the City Council has built itself a magnificent City Hall, but those citizens who cannot or do not wish to hire a meeting hall, have to stand in the gutter outside this imposing pile, themselves and their audience exposed to continual interruption by passing traffic.

Barker's Pool, where outdoor meetings are held in Sheffield, is a narrow turning running alongside the gleaming white-stoned City Hall. Half of its width is taken up by parked cars. The pavement beside the City Hall is wide, especially at the corner, where a broad square space provides an ideal spot for a platform and audience. But platforms are not allowed to stand here because the crowd would 'cause obstruction to pedestrians on the pavement'. So the platforms have to be put in the gutter, where the crowd only causes obstruction to motorists!

The aim of the authorities seems to be to make the holding of meetings as inconvenient and uncomfortable as possible. Why? Do they really want to discourage the citizens of Sheffield from exchanging ideas and argument in the only way open to them? Do they want to monopolise and imprison talk inside the City Hall? Do they want to stifle free expression because some of it might be critical of themselves?

If this is their aim we have to admit that unfortunately they seem to be succeeding. The newly-formed Libertarian Forum is now the only organisation holding meetings in Barker's Pool. The Communist Party and the Mormons held meetings until recently, but now they have stopped. Faced with a lack of demand the City Council could ask why they should be expected to supply facilities for which there is no apparent need.

But a forward-looking local authority should be concerned with the encouragement of social life. Apathy can prove its own undoing as well as that of the frustrated minorities. If the City Fathers of Sheffield think of themselves as leaders of civic affairs, why don't they set

the pace to get their citizens talking again?

All enquiries to:

Harry Wardle, 48 Burns Road, Cookesmoor, Sheffield.

The South FIRE HER! FIRE HER!

FOR four months, blonde, Tampa-born

Dr. Deborah Coggins, 32, served as the first woman health officer of Florida's Madison, Taylor and Jefferson counties. One day last August, she was consulting with Ethel Kirkland, who is in charge of the Florida State Board of Health's midwife training programme. Dr. Coggins suggested that they carry on business over their lunch. Because Ethel Kirkland is a Negro, Dr. Coggins carefully asked the manager of the Madison Hotel (all-white) restaurant if they could use a private room; the manager did not object, and neither did anybody else except—as Dr. Coggins thought about it later—"maybe the waitress."

Last week in a public meeting, the three county commissions heeded a growing public uproar, in effect kicked Dr. Coggins out of her job. She had had no hearing; the protests of state officials and a couple of local residents that her "indiscretion" be "forgiven" were overruled. "Fire her! Fire her!" cried Jesse Lott of Monticello from the audience. "When we give one inch, we are going to give the whole thing. It is time to stand up and be white men, not jelly-backs." When one of Dr. Coggins' friends asked a county commissioner if he had not eaten with Negroes on hunting trips, he replied: "They eat after we're through." Florida's Governor LeRoy Collins angrily denounced the firing. "I am sick about it . . . an evil act," but Collins had no power to intervene.

Amid all the tumult Dr. Coggins painstakingly stidestepped a martyr's role. "I should have known better," she explained to a reporter. "But I wasn't sponsoring integration; I was just doing my job. Look, this is a small community." Then she added: "I guess saying that, I sound like I've been brainwashed. Well, maybe I have. I don't know."

Time, October 8, 1956.

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GIFTS OF BOOKS:
R.M.; London: V.R.

Quotation Corner

GOD INC.

PROTESTANT Clergyman desires position as industrial chaplain. I can save your company thousands through a program of counseling and education. Live modern—let God help you with your labor problems. \$10,000.

The Wall Street Journal.

OH, OF COURSE!

His Lordship: I suppose the word "horse" in the rule does not include an aeroplane?

Counsel: No, I think not.

His Lordship: I ought to, it is much the same thing.

Counsel: I think that it was put in for the relief of archdeacons.

The Times Law Report.

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NATIONS - & POLITICS

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Sheffield Meetings

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CYPRUS

English and American
Correspondents Held Up

A FURTHER *Reuter* report from
Nicosia (2/10/56) said:

It was announced to-night that the
curfew would be lifted for two hours
daily instead of one to enable people to
shop. This will start to-morrow and
continue "until further notice". "Food
points" will be established along the
main street to prevent a repetition of
to-day's disorder.

Pope Discovers
Women Workers

THE Pope has made yet another
of his seemingly endless proces-
sion of pronouncements. He has said
that women should not be employed
in heavy industry. This remark was
apparently intended as a criticism of
Communist countries where women
are employed in mines, docks, steel-
works and many other industries of
the same type.

He referred to women as "crea-
tion's masterpiece", by which it is
presumed that he may have wished
to convey that heavy work was not
suitable for women (with which we
agree), or alternatively it might pos-
sibly be that he has finally reached
the same conclusion about women
in the abstract that almost all men
reach at a far earlier age than he is.
Or is the remark merely an exten-
sion of what has long been almost
a proverb: "God bless women, what
would we do without them?"
—Amen.

VESTED INTEREST BEFORE
PATRIOTISM

NICOSIA, SEPTEMBER 6.

The secretary of the Limassol Vine-
growers' Association has protested to the
Governor of Cyprus, Field-Marshal Sir
John Harding, that the French forces
have brought gallons of French wine to
Cyprus with them instead of drinking
Cypriot wine.

(British United Press)

'The Old Lags' Friend'..

JUDGE TUDOR REES, who died last
February, may appear to have been
a contradictory figure but he displayed
a degree of human feeling which does
not often mix with a white wig and a
black gown.

When he died Judge Rees did not leave
a will, and when the value of his estate
(gross £37 15s. 6d.) was published last
week it was also disclosed that he had
given considerable sums of money to
ex-prisoners to set them up in business
and "help them go straight!"

In the years he was chairman of

There were no Greek or English lan-
guage newspapers again to-day. Later,
circulars were sent to each editor asking
him to supply in triplicate the names of
his essential printing staff and giving
their minimum requirement of move-
ments within the curfewed city. One
English editor described this as "quite
unnecessary" since the existing "bulk
permit" system gave the authorities
every opportunity to check individuals.

Greek Cypriot Government officials
living within the curfew zone, who are
being denied permits enabling them to
go to their offices, said, "This is chaotic.
Our Government departments are unable
to get us out so that we can do the job
for which the Government pays us."

In the Government's Public Relations
Department British and American press
correspondents sought curfew passes to
be able to enter Nicosia and report on
the curfew. A few managed to smuggle
themselves into the town by hiding in
cars of friendly officers. Others waited
hours for officials to decide whether or
not pressmen should be given passes.
One American correspondent remarked:
"I have never seen such utter chaos
anywhere before."

MEETINGS AND
ANNOUNCEMENTSLONDON ANARCHIST
GROUP

LECTURE-DISCUSSIONS

Every Sunday at 7.30 at

THE MALATESTA CLUB,
32 Percy Street,
Tottenham Court Road, W.1.

OCT. 21—Philip Sansom on
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Every Sunday at 8 p.m., outdoor
meetings are held by the Sheffield
Libertarian Forum at BARKER'S POOL.

LIBERTARIAN FORUM

813 BROADWAY.

...sly consider the
pite of Mr. Nutt
the Conservative
wranglings in the
assembly.
s" is now simply
politicians are in
ating themselves
n their dignity un-
r secret meetings
of France, Egypt
hammered out" six
principle which are
be free and open
anal without discri-
covert" (a cardinal
people concention of
y of Egypt should
of the canal shall

Sheffield Meetings

r ideas to the ridi-
of their fellows.
rities, however, do
ortant. Take Shef-
There, the City
tself a magnificent
citizens who cannot
ire a meeting hall,
gutter outside this
selves and their
continual interrup-

ere outdoor meet-
ffield, is a narrow
inside the gleaming
Hall. Half of its
parked cars. The
City Hall is wide,
ner, where a broad
s an ideal spot for
nce. But platforms
stand here because
ause obstruction to
pavement'. So the
e put in the gutter,
y causes obstruction

horities seems to be
of meetings as in-
omfortable as pos-
they really want to
ns of Sheffield from
and argument in the
em? Do they want
imprison talk inside
they want to stifle
se some, of it might
ives?

a we have to admit
ey seem to be suc-
formed Libertarian
only organisation
Barker's Pool. The
d the Mormons held
tly, but now they
d with a lack of de-
ncil could ask why
ted to supply facili-
is no apparent need.
king local authority
with the encourage-
Apathy can prove
well as that of the
If the City Fathers
themselves as lead-
why don't they set

Press will be adding that white is
black. Thus Nasser and Eden will
both be able to tell "their" respec-
tive people that the Agreement is a
victory for justice and the "rule of
law" and both be vindicated in the
eyes of their followers. And to
anyone who were to ask why they
couldn't agree in the first place, the
reply would be that a number of
disagreements had to be "hammered
out" point by point. In fact the
truth of the matter is that in power
politics you only find solutions when
your bluff has failed. Which doesn't
mean that you don't agree when the
bluff succeeds, but that the terms of
agreement are somewhat different.
In politics you give nothing away
... except when it has been taken
away and every effort to recover it
has failed!

the pace to get their citizens talking
again?

All enquiries to:

Harry Wardle, 48 Burns Road, Cookes-
moor, Sheffield.

The South FIRE HER! FIRE HER!

FOR four months, blonde, Tampa-born
Dr. Deborah Coggins, 32, served as
the first woman health officer of Florida's
Madison, Taylor and Jefferson counties.
One day last August, she was consulting
with Ethel Kirkland, who is in charge of
the Florida State Board of Health's mid-
wife training programme. Dr. Coggins
suggested that they carry on business
over their lunch. Because Ethel Kirk-
land is a Negro, Dr. Coggins carefully
asked the manager of the Madison Hotel
(all-white) restaurant if they could use
a private room; the manager did not
object, and neither did anybody else
except—as Dr. Coggins thought about it
later—"maybe the waitress."

Last week in a public meeting, the
three county commissions heeded a grow-
ing public uproar, in effect kicked Dr.
Coggins out of her job. She had had
no hearing; the protests of state officials
and a couple of local residents that her
"indiscretion" be "forgiven" were over-
ruled. "Fire her! Fire her!" cried
Jesse Lott of Monticello from the audi-
ence. "When we give one inch, we are
going to give the whole thing. It is time
to stand up and be white men, not jelly-
backs." When one of Dr. Coggins'
friends asked a county commissioner if
he had not eaten with Negroes on hunt-
ing trips, he replied: "They eat after
we're through." Florida's Governor Le-
Roy Collins angrily denounced the firing.
"I am sick about it... an evil act," but
Collins had no power to intervene.

Amid all the tumult Dr. Coggins pains-
takingly stidestepped a martyr's role. "I
should have known better," she explain-
ed to a reporter. "But I wasn't sponsor-
ing integration; I was just doing my job.
Look, this is a small community." Then
she added: "I guess saying that, I sound
like I've been brainwashed. Well, may-
be I have. I don't know."

Time, October 8, 1956.

sibly be that he has finally reached
the same conclusion about women
in the abstract that almost all men
reach at a far earlier age than he is.
Or is the remark merely an exten-
sion of what has long been almost
a proverb: "God bless women, what
would we do without them?"
—Amen.

VESTED INTEREST BEFORE PATRIOTISM

NICOSIA, SEPTEMBER 6.

The secretary of the Limassol Vine-
growers' Association has protested to the
Governor of Cyprus, Field-Marshal Sir
John Harding, that the French forces
have brought gallons of French wine to
Cyprus with them instead of drinking
Cypriot wine.

(British United Press)

'The Old Lags' Friend'..

JUDGE TUDOR REES, who died last
February, may appear to have been
a contradictory figure but he displayed
a degree of human feeling which does
not often mix with a white wig and a
black gown.

When he died Judge Rees did not leave
a will, and when the value of his estate
(gross £37 15s. 6d.) was published last
week it was also disclosed that he had
given considerable sums of money to
ex-prisoners to set them up in business
and "help them go straight"!

In the years he was chairman of
Epsom county bench and Surrey Quarter
Sessions he earned many nicknames in-
cluding "Britain's most humane judge"
and "the old lags' friend."

Once an ex-prisoner gave him a tip for
the Derby. The judge won a consider-
able sum—which he immediately gave to
the man.

Every Christmas Judge Tudor Rees
gave a party for six men who had spent
20 years apiece in jail, because, he said,
"they came out of great tribulation and
have made good."

...Has 'Freedom' So FEW Friends?

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 40

Deficit on Freedom	£820
Contributions received	£638
DEFICIT	£182

October 5 to October 11

Sheffield: G.P.* 5/-; London: Hyde Park
Sympathisers, 3/6; London: J.S.* 3/-; Fal-
mouth: R.W.* 4/-; Oxford: Anon.* 5/-;
Preston: W.A.L.M. 5/-; Stroud: S.L.R.*
2/-; Frankfurt: H.B. 2/-; Brentwood, Mo.:
N.M. 13/6; Pleasanton: T.F. £1/15/0; San
Francisco: R.J. £3/10/0; London: W.F.*
2/3; Donaghadee: J.T. £1.

Total ... 8 10 3
Previously acknowledged ... 629 11 6

1956 TOTAL TO DATE ... £638 1 9

GIFTS OF BOOKS: London: C.W.; London:
R.M.; London: V.R.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

LECTURE-DISCUSSIONS

Every Sunday at 7.30 at

THE MALATESTA CLUB,
32 Percy Street,
Tottenham Court Road, W.1.

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813 BROADWAY,
(Bet. 11 & 12 Sts.)

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Friday Evenings at 8.30

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Bonar Thompson at 8 p.m.

Every Friday.

Open.

Every Saturday.

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Every Sunday.

London Anarchist Group meeting. See
announcement column.

Mondays, first three Tuesdays of
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